

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ANKARA 05528 011258Z  
ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 5528

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS: MARR, MASS, TU, GR, CY  
SUBJ: TURKISH CONCERN OVER DRAFT HOUSE AMENDMENT LIFTING EMBARGO.

REF: STATE 193266

1. SUMMARY: ELEKDAG CALLED PROPOSED DRAFT HOUSE AMENDMENT (REFTEL) "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE". HE SAID TURKISH PUBLIC REACTION WOULD BE VERY HARSH, AND THAT GOT WOULD PREFER NEGATIVE VOTE RATHER THAN THIS AMENDMENT. IN REPLY, I STRESSED THAT FINAL LEGISLATION WOULD EMERGE FROM A CONFERENCE COMMITTEE AND URGED THAT EVERYONE STAY CALM UNTIL THAT TIME. END SUMMARY.

2. MFA SEC GEN ELEKDAG CALLED ME IN URGENTLY MORNING OF AUGUST 1 TO DISCUSS PROPOSED AMENDMENT CONTAINED IN REFTEL. INAL BATU (CYPRUS/GREEK AFFAIRS) AND YALIM ERALP (DEFENSE AGREEMENTS) SAT IN. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY GELBER AND PECK. ELKDAG HAD TEXT OF AMENDMENT AND REPORT FROM ESENBEL OF HIS TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH NIMETZ EVENING OF JULY 31. ELKDAG SAID HIS DEMARCHE WAS ON INSTRUCTIONS OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT. HE SPOKE FROM WRITTEN NOTES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ANKARA 05528 011258Z

3. ELEKDAG SAID THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT WAS "COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE" AND THAT IS ADOPTION BY THE HOUSE WOULD CREATE A VERY DELICATE SITUATION IN TURKEY. THE AMENDMENT'S REFERENCES TO SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES AND REMOVAL OF TURKISH TROOPS ESTABLISHES A "FLAGRANT AND OPEN" LINK TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION AND GIVES THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO A CONDITIONAL FEATURE. ELKDAG RECALLED GOT'S EARLIER INSISTENCE THAT ANY HOUSE AMENDMENT

SHOULD CONTAIN THE TWO POINTS WHICH HAD BEEN SINGLED OUT BY ECEVIT AS POSITIVE FEATURES OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT, NAMELY THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE DENKTASH/MAKARIOS AGREEMENT AND THE REFERENCE TO ALL THREE COUNTRIES AS RESPONSIBLE PARTIES TO CYPRUS DISPUTE.

4. ELEKDAG SAID THAT ADOPTION OF THIS DRAFT AMENDMENT BY THE HOUSE WOULD HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION, NOTING THAT OPPOSITION POLITICIANS WERE ALREADY HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE SENATE ACTION. STRESSING THAT HIS DEMARCHE REPRESENTED THE SOBER, CONSIDERED OPINION OF HIS GOVERNMENT, ELEKDAG SAID THAT NEGATIVE HOUSE VOTE WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO LIFTING THE EMBARGO UNDER THESE CONDITIONS. THEN, ONE COULD SAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD DONE ITS BEST, BUT THAT THE CONGRESS HAD TAKEN A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE. ELEKDAG REITERATED THAT A CONDITIONAL LIFTING SUCH AS THAT ENVISAGED IN THIS DRAFT AMENDMENT WOULD HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION, ADDING " AND THUS ON THE RESTORATION OF OUR COOPERATION".

5. IN REPLY, I MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. THIS DRAFT AMENDMENT WAS DEVELOPED IN CONGRESS, NOT BY THE ADMINISTRATION. THOUGH WE MIGHT HAVE SOME POWER TO AFFECT IT, WE WERE NOT THE PRIME MOVERS.

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PAGE 03 ANKARA 05528 011258Z

B. IN TALKING WITH ESENBEL, NIMETZ HAD CHARACTERIZED THE AMENDMENT AS AN ATTEMPT TO SHIFT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LIFTING THE EMBARGO FROM CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT. NIMETZ HAD SAID THAT IF THE PRESIDENT WERE REQUIRED TO MAKE SUCH A CERTIFICATION, HE WOULD DO SO AND THE EMBARGO WOULD BE REMOVED. NO CONDITIONS WERE IMPOSED ON TURKEY BY THIS AMENDMENT.

C. NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS IN THE HOUSE, THERE WILL BE A CONFERENCE. BASED ON TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH WASHINGTON, I EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT WE COULD REGAIN IN CONFERENCE MUCH OF WHAT MIGHT BE LOST ON THE HOUSE FLOOR.

D. WE FULLY UNDERSTOOD TURKEY'S PUBLIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE HOUSE VOTE AND CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ACTION. I SAID I WAS SURE BOTH THE DEPARTMENT AND THE WHITE HOUSE ALSO UNDERSTOOD, BUT UNDERTOOK TO UNDERLINE TURKISH CONCERNS.

6. THERE FOLLOWED A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE MECHANICS OF RESOLVING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND SENATE BILLS IN CONFERENCE. THE TURKS STRESSED THEIR CONCERN THAT THE

POLITICAL SITUATION HERE COULD DETERIORATE IF THE PROCESS WERE DRAGGED OUT FOR LONG. IN CLOSING, I EMPHASIZED THAT THE HOUSE VOTE WAS ONLY A STAGE IN THE PROCESS AND THAT IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT EVERYONE "KEEP COOL" UNTIL THE FINAL LEGISLATION EMERGES.

7. COMMENT: WE ARE APPROACHING A "CATCH 22" SITUATION. WORDS THAT MOLLIFY TURKEY'S CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS AND WHICH MAKE SENSE IN WASHINGTON POLITICAL CONTEXT ARE INCREASINGLY ALIENATING GOT AND TURK PUBLIC. ECEVIT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE CAN LIVE WITH AN AMENDMENT, E.G., BYRD, THAT HE CAN EXPLAIN IN TERMS THAT MAKE SENSE HERE. PERHAPS AMONG FEW SOPHISTICATED TURKS LATEST HOUSE AMENDMENT WOULD BE EXPLAINABLE AS NECESSARY POLITICAL TACTIC. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ANKARA 05528 011258Z

IT WILL NOT BE EXPLAINABLE TO THE TURKISH PUBLIC OR TO DENKTASH. FURTHERMORE, ALL THIS COMES AT TIME WHEN TURKS ARE FEELING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED, E.G., PROBLEMS WITH ALLIES INCLUDING US, PROBLEMS WITH IMF, PROBLEMS WITH NAM IN BELGRADE. LIMITS OF PUBLIC TOLERANCE ARE NEAR. IF HOUSE AMENDMENT OR SOMETHING LIKE IT IS ADOPTED, WE WILL OF COURSE TRY TO MODERATE GOT REACTION PENDING OUTCOME OF CONFERENCE COMMITTEE (HIGH LEVEL MESSAGE TO ECEVIT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN THIS EFFORT). REAL DANGER TO OUR INTERESTS IS, HOWEVER, THAT BY TIME EMBARGO IS FINALLY LIFTED, OUR ACTION IN DOING SO WILL HAVE BEEN SO PUBLICLY DISCREDITED THAT THOSE THINGS WE HAD HOPED TO GAIN WILL BE PUT AT RISK, E.G., IMPROVED TURK-AMERICAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, PROGRESS ON CYRPUS. THERE IS ALSO SOME DANGER THAT EXTREME TURKISH STATEMENTS FOLLOWING HOUSE VOTE WILL CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR YOU IN HANDLING CONFERENCE COMMITTEE BUT CLEARLY YOU ARE FAR BETTER JUDGE OF THAT THAN WE. DILLON

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